

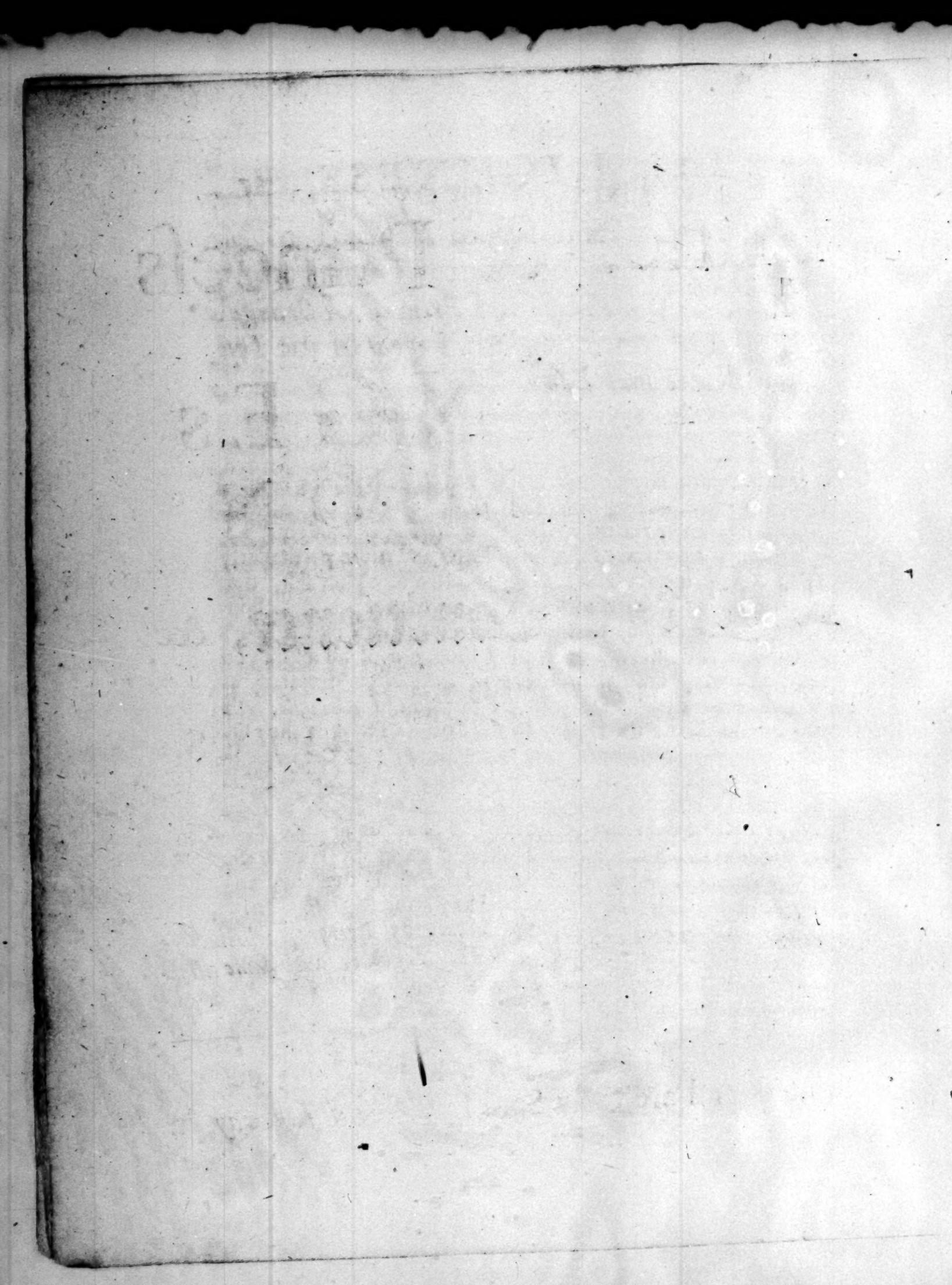
Their HIGHNESS the
Prince & Princess
OF
ORANGE'S
OPINION
About a GENERAL
Liberty of Conscience, &c.

Being a Collection of
FOUR SELECT PAPERS,

VIZ.

- I. Mijn Heer Fagel's First Letter to Mr. Stewart.
- II. Reflexions on Monsieur Fagel's Letter.
- III. Fagel's Second Letter to Mr. Stewart.
- IV. Some Extracts, out of Mr. Stewart's Letters, which were communicated to Mijn Heer Fagel. Together with some References to Mr. Stewart's Printed Letter.

LONDON,
Printed, and are to be Sold by Richard Janeway, in
Queens-head-alley in Pater-Noster-Row. 1689.



A LETTER, Writ by *Mijn Heer FAGEL*, Pensioner of *Holland*, to Mr. *James Stewart*, Advocate; Giving an Account of the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange's* thoughts concerning the *Repeal of the Test*, and the *Penal Laws*.

SIR,

I Am extream sorry, that my ill health hath so long hindred me from Answering those Letters, in which you so earnestly desired to know of me, what their *Highnesses* thoughts are, concerning the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, and more particularly of that concerning the *Test*: I beg you to assure your self, that I will deal very plainly with you in this matter, and without Reserve, since you say that your *Letters* was writ by the *King's* knowledge and allowance. I must then first of all assure you very positively, that their *Highnesses* have often declared, as They did more particularly to the Marquis of *Alberville*, His Majesties Envoy Extraordinary to the *States*, that it is their Opinion, *That no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the publick and established Religion*: And therefore, they can consent, that the *Papists* in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* be suffered to continue in their *Religion*, with as much Liberty as is allowed them by the *States* in these *Provinces*; in which it cannot be denied, that they enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. And as for the *Dissenters*, Their *Highnesses* do not only consent, but do heartily approve of their having an entire *Liberty*, for the full Exercise of their *Religion*, without any trouble or hindrance; so that none may be able to give them the least disturbance upon that account.

And their *Highnesses* are very ready, in case His Majesty shall think fit to desire it, to declare their willingness to concur in the settling, and confirming this *Liberty*, and as far as it lies in them, they will protect and defend it, and according to the

Language of Treaties, They will confirm it with their *Guaranty*, of which you made mention in yours.

And if His Majesty shall think fit further to desire their concurrence in the Repealing of the *Penal Laws*, They are ready to give it; provided always that those *Laws* remain still in their full vigour, by which the *R. Catholicks* are shut out of both *Houses of Parliament*, and out of all publick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military; as likewise all those other *Laws*, which confirm the *Protestant Religion*, and which secures it against all the attempts of the *Roman Catholicks*.

But Their *Highnesses* cannot agree to the Repeal of the *Test*, or of those other *Penal Laws* last mentioned, that tend to the security of the *Protestant Religion*; since the *R. Catholicks* receive no other prejudice from these, than the being excluded from Parliaments, or from publick Employments. And that by them the *Protestant Religion* is covered from all the Designs of the *R. Catholicks* against it, or against the publick safety; And neither the *Test* nor these other *Laws* can be said to carry in them any severity against the *Roman Catholicks* upon account of their Consciences: They are only Provisions qualifying men to be Members of Parliament, or to be capable of bearing Office; by which they must declare before God and Men, that they are for the *Protestant Religion*. So that indeed, all this amounts to no more than a securing the *Protestant Religion* from any Prejudices that it may receive from the *R. Catholicks*.

Their *Highnesses* have thought and do still think, that more than this ought not to be asked, or expected from Them: since by this means, the *R. Catholicks* and their Posterity will be for ever secured from all trouble in their Persons or Estates, or in the Exercise of their *Religion*; and that the *Roman Catholicks* ought to be satisfied with this, and not to disquiet the Kingdom because they cannot be admitted to sit in Parliament, or to be in Employments; or because those *Laws*, in which the security of the *Protestant Religion* does chiefly consist, are not repealed, by which they may be put in a condition to overturn it.

Their *Highnesses* do also believe, that the *Dissenters* will be fully satisfied when they shall be for ever covered from all danger of being disturbed, or punished for the free Exercise of their *Religion*, upon any sort of pretence whatsoever.

Their

Their *Highnesses* having declared themselves so positively in these matters, it seems very plain to me, that They are far from being any hindrance to the Freeing the *Dissenters* from the severity of the *Penal Laws*; since they are ready to use their utmost endeavours for the establishing of it; nor do they at all press the denying to the *Roman Catholicks* the exercise of their *Religion*, provided it be managed modestly, and without Pomp or Ostentation. As for my own part, I ever was and still am very much against all those, who would persecute any *Christian* because he differs from the publick and established *Religion*: And I hope by the Grace of God to continue still in the same mind; for since that Light, with which *Religion* illuminates our mind, is according to my sense of things, purely an effect of the Mercy of God to us, we ought then, as I think, to render to God all possible Thanks for his Goodness to us: and to have Pity for those who are still shut up in Error, even as God has pitied us, and to put up most earnest prayers to God, for bringing those into the way of Truth, who stray from it, and to use all gentle and friendly methods for reducing them to it.

But I confess, I could never comprehend how any that profess themselves *Christians*, and that may enjoy their *Religion* freely and without any disturbance, can judge it lawful for them to go about to disturb the Quiet of any *Kingdom* or *State*, or to overturn Constitutions, that so they themselves may be admitted to Employments, and that those *Laws* in which the Security and Quiet of the Established *Religion* consists, should be shaken.

It is plain, that the *Reformed Religion* is by the Grace of God and by the *Laws* of the Land, enacted by both *King* and *Parliament*, the publick and established *Religion* both in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* and that it is provided by those *Laws*, that none can be admitted either to a place in *Parliament*, or to any publick Employment except those that do openly declare, that they are of the *Protestant Religion*, and not *Roman Catholicks*; and it is also provided by those *Laws*, that the *Protestant Religion* shall be in all time coming secured from the Designs of the *Roman Catholicks* against it; in all which I do not see, that these *Laws* contain any Severity, either against the Persons or Estates of those who cannot take those *Tests*, that are contrary to the *Roman Catholick*,

Catholick Religion; all the inconveniences that can redound to them from thence, is, that their Persons, their Estates, and even the Exercise of their *Religion* being assured to them, only they can have no share in the Government, nor in Offices of Trust, as long as their Consciences do not allow them to take these *Tests*: and they are not suffered to do any thing that is to the prejudice of the *Reformed Religion*.

Since, as I have already told you, Their *Highnesses* are ready to concur with his *Majesty* for the Repeal of those *Penal Laws*, by which men are made liable to fines or other Punishments.

So I see there Remains no difficulty concerning the Repealing the *Penal Laws*, but only this, that some would have the *Roman Catholicks*, render'd capable of all publick Trusts and Employments, and that by consequence, all those should be repealed that have secured the *Protestant Religion* against the designs of the *R. Catholicks*, where others at the same time are not less earnest to have those *Laws* maintained in their full and due vigour; and think, that the chief security of the established *Religion* consists in the preserving of them sacred and unshaken.

It is certain, that there is no *Kingdom*, *Commonwealth*, or any constituted body or Assembly whatsoever, in which there are not *Laws* made for the safety thereof; and that provide against all Attempts whatsoever, that disturb their Peace, and that prescribe the Conditions and Qualities that they judge necessary for all that shall bear Employments in that Kingdom, State or Corporation: And no man can pretend, that there is any Injury done him, that he is not admitted to Employments when he doth not satisfie the Conditions and Qualities required.

Nor can it be denied, that there is a great difference to be observed in the conduct of those of the *Reformed Religion*, and of the *Roman Catholicks* towards one another: The *Roma Catholicks* not being satisfied to exclude the *Reformed* from all places of profit or of Trust, they do absolutely suppress the whole Exercise of that *Religion*, and severely persecute all that profess it; and this they do in all those places where it is safe and without danger, to carry on that rigour. And I am sorry that we have at this present so many deplorable Instances of this severity before our eyes, that is at the same time put in practice in so many different places.

I would therefore gladly see one single good reason to move a *Protestant* that fears God, and that is concerned for his *Religion*, to

to consent to the Repealing of those *Laws* that have been enacted by the Authority of *King* and *Parliament*, which have no other tendency but to the security of the *Reformed Religion*, and to the restraining of the *Roman Catholicks* from a capacity of overturning it; these *Laws* inflict neither Fines nor Punishments, and do only exclude the *Roman Catholicks* from a share in the Government, who by being in Employments must needs study to increase their Party, and to gain to it more Credit and Power, which by what we see every day, we must conclude, will be extreamly dangerous to the *Reformed Religion*, and must turn to its great prejudice: since in all places, those that are in publick Employments, do naturally Favour that *Religion* of which they are, either more or less. And who would go about to perswade me or any man else to endeavour to move Their *Highnesses*, whom God hath honoured so far as to make them the Protectors of his Church, to approve of, or to consent to things so hurtful, both to the *Reformed Religion* and to the publick safety. Nor can I, Sir, with your good leave, in any way grant what you apprehend, That no prejudice will thereby, redound to the *Reformed Religion*.

I know it is commonly said the number of the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* and *Scotland* is very inconsiderable; and that they are possessed only of a very small number of the places of Trust: tho even as to this, the case is quite different in *Ireland*: yet this you must of necessity grant me, that if their numbers are small, then it is not reasonable that the publick Peace should be disturbed on the account of so few persons, especially when so great a favour may be offered to them; such as the free Exercise of their *Religion* would be: and if their numbers are greater, then there is so much the more reason to be affraid of them; I do indeed believe that *Roman Catholicks*, as things at present stand, will not be very desirous to be in publick Offices and Imploymets, nor that they will make any attempts upon the *Reformed Religion*, both because this contrary to Law, and because of the great Inconveniences that this may bring at some other time both on their Persons, and their Estates: yet if the Restraints of the *Law* were once taken off, you would see them brought into the Government, and the chief Offices and Places of Trust would be put in thair hands; no will it be easy to His *Majesty* to resist them in this, how stedfast soever he may be; for they will certainly press him hard in it, and they will represent this to the

King

King, as a matter in which His Conscience will be concerned ; and when they are possessed of the Publick Offices, what will be left for the *Protestants* to do, who will find no more the support of the Law, and can expect little Encouragement from such Magistrates ? and on the other hand, the Advantages that the *R. Catholicks* would find in being thus set loose from all Restraints, are so plain, that it were a loss of time to go about the proving it. I neither can or will doubt of the sincerity of His Majesties intentions, and that He has no other design before Him in this matter, but that all his Subjects may enjoy in all things the same Rights and Freedoms.

But plain Reason, as well as the Experience of all Ages, the present as well as the past, shews, that it will be impossible for *R. Catholicks* and *Protestants*, when they are mixed together in places of Trust and publick Employments, to live together peaceably, or to maintain a good Correspondence together. They will be certainly always jealous of one another ; For the Principles and the Maxims of both *Religions* are so opposite to one another, that in my opinion I do not see how it will be in the power of any Prince or King whatsoever, to keep down those Suspicions and Animosities, which will be apt to arise upon all occasions.

As for that which you apprehend, that the *Dissenters* shall not be delivered from the *Penal Laws* that are made against them, unless at the same time the *Test* be likewise repealed : This will be indeed a great unhappiness to them; but the *Roman Catholicks* are only to blame for it, who will rather be content that they and their Posterity should lie still under the weight of the *Penal Laws*, and exposed to the hatred of the whole Nation, than be still restrained from a capacity of attempting any thing against the Peace and the Security of the *Protestant Religion*. And be deprived of that small advantage (if it is at all to be reckoned one) of having a share in the Government and publick Employments ; since in all places of the World this has been always the privilege of the *Religion* that is established by Law ; and indeed these Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks* ought to be so much the more suspected and guarded against by *Protestants*, in that they see that *Roman Catholicks*, even when liable to the Severity of *Penal Laws*, do yet endeavour to perswade his *Majesty*, to make the *Protestants*, whether they will or not, dissolve

dissolve that Security which they have for their Religion : and to clear a way for bringing in the *Roman Catholicks* to the Government, and to publick Employments : in which case there would remain no relief for them but what were to be expected from a *Roman Catholick* Government.

Such then will be very unjust to their *Highnesses*, who shall blame them for any Inconveniency that may arise from thence; since they have declared themselves so freely on this subject, and that so much to the advantage even of the *Roman Catholicks*. And since the Settlement of matters sticks at this single point, that Their *Highnesses* cannot be brought to consent to things that are so contrary to *Laws* already in being, and that are so dangerous and so hurtful to the *Protestant Religion*, as the admitting of *Roman Catholicks* to a share in the Government, and to places of Trust, and the Repealing of those *Laws*, that can have no other effect but the securing of the *Protestant Religion* from all the Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks* against it would be.

You write, *That the Roman Catholicks in these provinces are not shut out from the Employments and places of Trust*; But in this you are much mistaken. For our *Laws* are express, excluding them by name from all share in the Government, and from all Employments either of the Policy or Justice of our Country. It is true, I do not know of any express *Law*, that shuts them out of Military Employments; that had indeed been hard, since in the first Formation of our State they joyned with us in defending our publick Liberty, and did us eminent service during the Wars; therefore they were not shut out from those Military Employments; for the publick safety was no way endanger'd by this, both because their numbers that serv'd in our Troops were not great, and because the *States* could easily prevent any Inconvenience that might arise out of that; which could not have been done so easily, if the *Roman Catholicks* had been admitted to a Share in the Government, and in the Policy or Justice of our *State*.

I am very certain of this, of which I could give very good proofs, that there is nothing which Their *Highnesses* desire so much, as that His *Majesty* may Reign happily, and in an entire Confidence with his Subjects ; and that His subjects being persuad'd

swaded of His *Majesties* fatherly affection to them, may be ready to make him all the returns of Duty that are in their Power. But their *Highnesses* are convinced in their Consciences, that both the *Protestant Religion*, and the safety of the *Nation*, will be exposed to most certain Dangers, if either the *Test*, or those other *Penal Laws*, of which I have made frequent mention, should be Repealed ; Therefore they cannot consent to this, nor concur with His Majesty's Will; for they believe, they should have much to Answer for to God, if the consideration of any present advantages should carry them to consent and concur in things which they believe would be not only dangerous, but mischievous to the *Protestant Religion*.

Their *Highnesses* have ever pay'd a most profound Duty to His Majesty whcih they will always continue to do ; for they consider themselves bound to it, both by the Laws of God, and of Nature : But since the matter that is now in hand, relates not to the making of new Laws, but to the total Repealing of those already made both by King and Parliament : They do not see how it can be expected of them, that they should consent to such a Repeal, to which they have so just an aversion, as being a thing that is contrary to the Laws and Customs of all Christian States, whether *Protestants* or *Papists*, who receive none to a share in the Government, or to publick Employments, but those who profess the publick and established Religion, and that take care to secure it against all attempts whatsoever.

I do not think it necessary to demonstrate to you how much their *Highnesses* are devoted to His Majesty, of which they have given such real Evidences as are beyond all verbal ones ; and they are resolved still to continue in the same Duty and Affection ; or rather to encrease it, if that is possible.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

Novemb. 4. 1687.

Amsterdam, Printed in the Year 1687.

Reflexions on Monsieur Fagel's Letter.

SIR,

I Shall endeavour to answer yours as fully and briefly as possible.

1. You desire to know whether the Letter I sent you be truly *Monsieur Fagel's* or not.
2. Whether their Highnesses gave him Commission to write it.
3. How far the Dissenters may relie on their Highnesses word.
4. What effects it has on all sorts of People.

Sir, Roman Catholicks may be pardoned if they endeavour to make that Letter pass for an Imposture, it is their Interest so to do, and they are seldom wanting to promote that, let the methods be never so indirect which they are forced to make use of: It does indeed spoil many hopeful projects of theirs. But how any Protestant among us can really doubt the truth of it, is strange to me. Some things carry their own evidence along with them: I take this Letter to be one of that kind. I do not desire you to believe me upon my bare affirmation that I know it to be genuine, (tho this be most true) but shall offer my Reasons to convince you that it cannot be otherways.

First, The Letter is like its Author, the Matter is weighty, the Reasoning solid, the Stile grave, full and clear, like that of a Lawyer: It has an Air all over, which as well shews the Religion and Temper of its Writer, as the Matter and Method of it do his Capacity and Judgment. Now all these Qualities make up the Character of *Monsieur Fagel*.

Secondly, There are the same grounds to believe this Letter to be *M. Fagel's*, as there are to believe any thing you have not seen, *viz.* The constant Asseverations of Persons of undoubted Credit that come from *Holland*, who all agree in it, and assure us of it. *M. Fagel* own'd it to several *English* Gentlemen, and many both here and in *Holland* knew two months ago that such a Letter was written; a Forgery would before

this time have been detected, especially such a one as ruines the Designs of the Triumphing Party.

Thirdly, It was written by M. *Fagel* in Answer to Letters from Mr. *Stewart*, sent by His Majesties special Orders, and Mr. *Stewart* hath both an *English* and *Latin* Copy sent him: Therefore the English Copy is not called a Translation, but it is a sort of Original; for you are not to doubt but the matter was ordered so, that her Royal Highness might peruse it as well as his Majesty.

In the next place you would know whether their Highnesses gave Order to Monsieur *Fagel* to write it.

I wish Sir, you would take the pains to read the Letter over again, and consider who this Monsieur *Fagel* is; He is Pensionary of *Holland*, and first Minister of State, raised to that Dignity by the Prince's Favour, he Answers Letters written to him, which are ordered by His Majesty to be communicated to their Highnesses. In his Answer, he gives an Aceount of their Highnesses Opinions about the Repeal of the *Penal Laws and Test*; Matters of a National Concern, and of the greatest Importance. Now you must have a strange Opinion of Monsieur *Fagel*, if you think him capable of so great an Indiscretion (or rather Imposture) as to write such a Letter of his own Head. The Letter it self Demonstrates, that whoever writ it is no Fool, and the Circumstances I have marked show that he is no Knav. And indeed the substance of it is not new, it only repeats to His Majesty the same Answer which the Prince and Princess had formerly given to His Majesties Envoy there.

In short, you may leave the whole Matter to this plain issue: if this Letter be a false one it will be disown'd, if a true one it will be owned. Their Highnesses love not to do things that will not bear the Light. It is Evident, they did not intend the Matter of it should be a Secret, having told it to Monsieur *d'Albeville*, as often as he (in his Discreet Way) necessitated them to do it. But how it came to be Printed, I cannot inform you justly; however you shall have my conjecture.

I remember as soon as it was noised about Town, that Mr. *Stewart* had received a Letter of such a Nature from Monsieur *Fagel*, care was taken that the Writer of the Common News Letters which are dispersed over the Kingdom, should insert

in them that their Highnesses had declared, themselves for the Repeal of the Test. This *Pias Frans* might, I suppose, give Occasion to the Printing of the Letter, as the Wisdom and Policy of our States-men (in putting Mr. *Stewart* on Writing such Letters) had procured it: I say *Letters*, for *Monsieur Fagel* had five or six on that subject before he answered, so unwilling were they in *Holland* to return an Answer, since they could not give one that was pleasing, or do any thing that look'd like meddling.

The third Thing you desired to be satisfied in, is, *Whether the Dissenters may rely on their Highnesses Word.* I am as apt to mistrust Princes Promises as you are. But shall now give you my reasons, why I think the Dissenters may safely do it. And at the same time, because of the Affinity of the matter, I will tell you why I think we may all rely on their Highnesses for our *Civil Liberties*, as well as the Dissenters may do for *Liberty of Conscience*. Much of what I have to say is equally applicable to them both, yet because I know you have had an Account of Her Royal Highness, better than I can give you, I shall for the most part, speak only of the Prince.

My first Reason is the certainest of all Reasons, That it will be His Highnesses interest to settle matters at Home, which only can be done by a Legal Toleration or Comprehension in Matters of Religion; and by restoring the Civil Liberties of the Nation, so much invaded of late. That this will be his interest is Evident, if his Designs lye abroad, as it's certain they do. Designs at home and abroad at the same time are so inconsistent, that we see His Majesty, though raised above his Fears at home by His late Victory; and invited abroad, by all that can excite his Appetite for Glory, cannot reconcile them: The truth is, one that would undertake it, is in the same Condition with Officers that beat their men, to make them fight, they have Enemies before and behind.

But you may happily Object, that Princes do not always follow their true Interests, of which it is not difficult in this Age to give several Fatal Instances. I Answer, That it is to be presumed that Princes, as well as other men, will follow their Interests till the contrary appear; and if they be of an Age to have taken their Fold, and have till such Age kept firm to

their Interests, the Presumption grows strong ; but if their Inclinations, the Maxims of their Families, the Impressions of their Education, and all their other Circumstances do side with their Interest, and lead them the same way, it is hardly Credible they should ever quit it. Now this being the present Case, we have all the certainty that can be had in such matters.

The Prince of *Orange* has above these 15 years given so great proofs of his Firmness and Resolution, as well as of his Capacity and conduct in opposing the Grand Ravisher (I may add the Betrayers too) of Liberty and Religion, that he is deservedly (by all Impartial Men) own'd to be the Head of the Protestant Interest : A Headship, which no Princes but the Kings of *England* should have, and none but they would be without it.

Now one may rationally conclude, That when the Prince shall joyn to his present possession of this Headship, a more Natural Title, by being in a greater capacity to Act, he will not degrade himself, nor lay aside Designs and Interests which ought to be the Glory of *England*, as they are indeed the Glory of his Family, acquired and derived to him by the Blood of his Ancestors, and carried on and maintained by himself with so much Honour and Reputation.

I might add here, That the Prince is a Man of a sedate even Temper, full of Thoughts and Reflection : one that precipitates neither in Thinking, Speaking, nor Acting ; is cautious in Resolving and Promising, but firm to his Resolutions and exact in observing his Word : inform your self, and you'll find this a part of his Character, and conclude from hence what may be presumed from his Inclinations.

Now as to the Maxims of his Family, let us compare them a little where it may be decently done.

The *French* King broke his Faith to his Protestant Subjects, upon this single point of Vain Glory, that he might shew the World he was greater than most of his Predecessors, who though they had the same Inclinations, were not Potent enough to pursue them effectually, as he has done, to the everlasting Infamy of his Name and Reign. The maxims of the *French* Kings have been to outvie each other, in Robbing their Neighbours, and Oppressing their Subjects by perfidiousness and cruelty. But those of the Family of *Orange* on the contrary, have been

been to Rescue *Europe* from its Oppressors, and maintain the Protestant Interest, by Virtue, Truth, Honour and Resolution; knowing that such methods are as necessary to make Protestant Princes and States flourish, as Vice and Oppression are to maintain Popish Government.

No Popish Prince in *Europe* can pretend to have kept his Word to his Protestant Subjects, as the Princes of *Orange* have always done to their Popish subjects at *Orange*, and elsewhere; and the Papists have often broke their Word to that Family, and have been, and are its declared Enemies; and though the Princes two great Grand-Fathers, Admiral *Coligni*, and Prince *William*, were Assassinated by the Authority, and with the approbation of that whole party, yet it cannot be made appear, that ever the Princes of that Family failed in keeping their Word, even to such Enemies, or used their own Popish subjects the worse for it, in making distinction between them and their other subjects, or influenc'd the *States* to use theirs so: I say the *States*, who allow their R. C. subjects all the privileges of their other subjects, only they are kept by a Test from having any share in the Government, which is truly a kindness done them, considering that ill-natured Humour of destroying all those that differ from them, which is apt to break out when that Religion is in power.

Now the Church of *England* may justly expect all sort of protection and countenance from the successors, when it's their turn to give it, they have a legal right to it, and Impartial Dissenters must acknowledge, that of late they have deserved it.

But as for the Protestant Dissenters, I think no honest man amongst them will Apprehend, that their Highnesses who keep their Word to their Popish Enemies, will break it to Protestant subjects, tho differing from the publick Establishment.

The next thing I am to make good, is, That His Highnesses Education must have infused such principles as side with his Interest: There must be a fatal Infection in the *English* Crown, if matters miscarry in his Highnesses Hands, his Veins are full of the best Protestant Blood in the World: The Reformation in *France* grew up under the Conduct and Influence of *Coligni*. Prince *William* founded the Government of the United *Netherlands* on the Basis of property and liberty of Conscience. His High-

Highness was bred and lives in that State which subsists and flourishes by adhering steadily to the Maxims of its Founder.

He himself, both in his publick and private concerns, as well in the Government of his Family, and of such principalities as belong to him, as in that of the Army, and in the Dispensing of that great power which the States have given him, has as great regard to Justice, Virtue and true Religion, as may compleat the character of a Prince, qualified to make those he Governs happy.

It does not indeed appear, that their Highnesses have any share of that devouring Zeal which hath so long set the World on fire, and tempted thinking men to have a notion of Religion it self, like that we have of the Ancient Paradice, as if it had never been more than an intended Blessing, but all who have the honour to know their Highnesses and their Inclinations in matters of Religion, are fully satisfied they have a truly Christian Zeal, and as much as is consistent with Knowledge and Charity.

As to his Highnesses circumstances, they will be such when his Stars make way for him, as may convince our Scepticks, that certain persons, times and things, are prepared for one another. I know not why we may not hope, that as his predecessors broke the Yoke of the House of *Austria* from off the Neck of *Europe*; The honour of breaking that of the House of *Bourbon* is reserved for him. I am confident the Nation will heartily joyn with him in his Just Resentments. Resentments which they have with so much Impatience long'd to find, and have miss'd with the greatest indignation in the Hearts of their Monarchs.

His Highness has at present, a greater influence on the Councils of the most part of the Princes of Christendom, than possibly any King of *England* ever had. And this acquired by the weight of his own personal merit, which will no doubt grow up to a glorious Authority when it is cloath'd with Sovereign power. May I here mention (to lay the Jealousies of the most unreasonable of your Friends) that his Highness will have only a borrowed Title, which he may suppose will make him more cautious in having designs at home, and his wanting Children (to our great misfortune) will make him less solicitous to have such Designs.

But

But after all, it must be acknowledged, that in matters of this Nature, the premises may seem very strong, and yet the conclusion not follow. Humane infirmities are great, Temptations to Arbitrariness are strong, and often both the Spirit and Flesh weak. Such fatal mistakes have been made of late, that the Successors themselves may justly pardon mens Jealousies; A Widow that has had a bad Husband, will cry on her Wedding-day, though she would be married with all her heart. But I am confident you will grant to me, that in the case of the present Successors, the possibilities are as remote, and the Jealousies as ill grounded, and that there is as much to balance them, as ever there was to be found in the prospect of any Successors to the Crown of *England*. Now may I add, To conclude the Reasons that I have given you, why we may depend on their Highnesses, that I know considerable men, who after great Enquiry and Observation, do hope that their Highnesses (being every way so well qualified for such an end) are pre-destinated (if I may speak so) to make us happy in putting an end to our Differences, and in fixing the Prerogative, and in recovering the Glory of the Nation, which is so much sunk, and which now (when we were big with Expectations) we find Sacrific'd to unhappy partialities in matters of Religion.

The last thing you desire to know, is, *What Effects this Letter has had.* But it is not yet old enough for me to judge of that, I can better tell you what Effects it ought to have. I find the moderate wise men of all Perswasions are much pleased with it.

I know *Roman Catholicks* that wish to God matters were settled on the model given in it ; they see the great difficulty of getting the *Test* Repealed : And withal, they doubt whether it is their Interest that it should be Repealed or not : They fear needy violent men might get into Employments who would put His Majesty on doing things that might ruin them and their Posterity. They are certainly in the right of it. It is good to provide for the worst. A Revolution will come with a Witness ; and it's like it may come before the Prince of *Wales* be of Age to manage an unruly Spirit, that I fear will accompany it. Humane Nature can hardly digest what it is already necessitated to swallow, such provocation even alters mens

Judg-

Judgments. I find that men who otherways hate severity, begin to be of opinion that Queen Elizabeths Lenity to the R. C's proves now cruelty to the Protestants. The whole Body of Protestants in the Nation was lately afraid of a *Popish Successor*, and when they Reflected on Queen Maries Reign, thought we had already sufficient Experience of the Spirit of that Religion; and took Self-preservation to be a good Argument, for preventing a second Tryal. But now a handful of *Roman Catholicks*, perhaps reflecting on Queen Elizabeths Reign, are not it seems afraid of *Protestant Successors*. But if some Protestants at that time from an Aversion to the Remedy, hoped that the Disease was not so dangerous as it proves, I am confident at present, all Protestants are agreed, that henceforward the Nation must be saved, not by Faith. And therefore I would advise the R. C's to consider that Protestants are still men, that late Experiences at home, and the Cruelties of *Popish Princes* abroad, has given us a very terrible *Idea* of their Religion. That opportunity is precious and very slippery, and if they let the present occasion pass by, they can hardly ever hope that it will be possible for them to recover it. That their Fathers and Grandfathers would have thought themselves in Heaven to have had such an offer as this is, in any of the four last Reigns, and therefore, that they had better be contented with *Half a Loaf, than no Bread.* I mean it will be their Wisdom to embrace this Golden Occasion of putting themselves on a level with all other *English-men*; at least as to their private Capacity; and to disarm once for all, the Severity of those Laws; which if ever they should come to be in good earnest Executed by a Protestant Successor, will make *England* too hot for them: And therefore I should particularly advise those among them, who have the Honour to approach His Majesty, to use their Credit, to prevail with him to make this so necessary a step in favour of the Nation; since the Successors have advanc'd two thirds of the way for effecting so good and pious a work. Then, and not till then, the R. C's may think themselves secured, and His Majesty may hope to be great by Translating Fear and Anger from the Breasts of His Subjects, to the Hearts of His Own and the Nations Enemis.

But

But if an Evil Genius (which seems to have hovered over us now a long time) will have it otherwise ; if I were a R. C. I would meddle no more, but live quiet at home, and Careſſ my Protestant Neighbours ; and in ſo doing, I ſhould think my ſelf better ſecured againſt the Reſentments of the Nation, than by all the Forces, Forts, Leagues, Garrantries, and even *Men Children* that His Maſteſty may hope to leave behind him.

As for the Protestant Diſſenters, I am conſiđent the Body of them will continue to behave themſelves like men, who to their great Honour have ever preſeferred the Love of their Country and Religion to all Dangers and Favours whatſoever, but there are both Weak and Interſted men among all great numbers ; I would have them conſider how much the ſtate of things is altrēd, upon the coming out of this Letter, for iſ hitherto they have been too forward in giving Ear to Propoſals on this miſtake, that they could never have ſuch a favourable Juncture for getting the Laws againſt them Repealed ; I hope now they are undeceived, ſince the Successors have pawn'd their Faſh and Honour for it, which I take to be a better ſecurity (as mat-ters go at preſent) than the ſo much talk'd of *Magna Charta* for Liberty of Conſcience would be, though got in a legal way ; for our Judges have declared, That Princes can diſpence with the Obligation of Laws, but they have not yet given their Opinion, that they can diſpence with the Honour of their Word ; nor have their Highneſſes any Confessor to ſupply ſuch an Omiſſion.

However it is not to be charg'd on their Highneſſes, iſ ſuch a *Magna Charta* be not at preſent given them, provided the Test be let alone ; but I fear the *Roman Catholicks* Zeal will have all or nothing ; and the Test too muſt be Repealed, by wheedling the Diſſenters to joyn with willing Sheriffs in viola-ting the Rights of Elec-tons, which are the Root of the Liberties of *England* ; a prudent way of recommending their Reli-gion to all true *English-men*.

But iſ any of the Diſſenters be ſo deſtitute of Sense and Honesty, as to prefer a *Magna Charta*, ſo obtained, Void and Null in iſ ſelf, to their own Honour and Conſcience, to the Love and Liberties of their Country, to the preſent Kindneſſ of all good Men, and their Countenance at another time, and above all,

to the Favour and Word of the Successors, who have now so generously declared themselves for them; We may pronounce, that they are men abandoned to a Reprobate sense, who will justly deserve Infamy, and the Hatred of the Nation at present, and its Resentments hereafter. Is it possible, that any Dissenter, who either deserves or loves the Reputation of an Honest Man, can be prevailed with by any pretences of Insinuations how plausible soever, to make so Odious and pernicious a bargain, as that of buying a precarious pretended Liberty of Conscience, at the price of the Civil Liberties of the Country, and at the price of removing that which under God is the most effectual Bar to keep us from the Dominion of a Religion, that would as soon as it could force us to abandon our own, or reduce us to the miserable Condition of those of our Neighbours, who are glad to forsake all they have in the World, that they may have their Souls and Lives for prey.

As for the Church of *England*, their Clergy have of late oppos'd themselves to *Popery*, with so much Learning, Vigour, Danger and Success, that I think all honest Dissenters will lay down their Resentments against them, and look on that Church, as the present Bulwark and Honour of the Protestant Religion. I wish those high men among them, who have so long appropriated to themselves, the name and Authority of the Church of *England*, and have been made Instruments to bring about Designs, of which their present Behaviour convinces me, they were ignorant, as I suppose many of the Dissenters are, whose turn it is now to be the Tools.

I say, I wish such men would consider, to what a pass they have brought Matters by their Violences, or rather the Violences of these whose Property they were, and at length be wise; They cannot but be sensible of the Advantages they receive by this Letter. I suppose they apprehend (I am sure they ought to do it) that the Ruine of their Church is resolv'd on: But if the Dissenters upon this Letter withdraw themselves, the R. C's have neither Hearts to keep firm to such a Resolution, nor Hands to Execute it.

Since therefore, They themselves, have unhappily brought their Church into such Precipices by provoking the Dissenters, it is in a particular manner their Duty, as well as their Interest, to endeavour to soften them, by assisting the Letter, and promoting the Design of it.

But

But if the old leaven still remain, they continue to argue as formerly, if the Surplice be parted with, the Church of *England* is lost ; if the Penal Laws be repealed, the Test will follow : and comfort themselves with this most Christian reflection, that the R. C. will not accept of what is offered them ; such men deserve all the misery that is preparing for them, and will perish without Pity, and give thinking Men occasion to remember the Proverb, *Beat a Fool (or a Zealot) in a Morter, yet his Foolishnes will not depart from him.* But the Dissenters ought not to be much concerned at this, they have their own Bigots, and the Church of *England* theirs ; there will be Tools whilst there are Workmen.

This a time for Wisdom to be justified of her Children, when honest men ought to leave off minding the lesser Interests of this or that particular Church, and joyn in securing the common Interest of the Protestant Religion. And to conclude, I would particularly beg of the Dissenters to make use of their best Judgment on this so critical an occasion, which they will do in my opinion, in keeping close to the contents of this Letter, by endeavouring to obtain in a fair and legal way such a Liberty to all Perswasions, as is the Natural Right of Freemen, and as our Protestant Successors declare themselves willing to joyn in ; and if those who have an equal, nay a greater Interest than themselves, will not agree to such a Liberty, because they will be Masters or nothing ; the Dissenters will have the comfort of having discharged their own Consciences, as prudent Men and good Christians ought to do, and may safely trust God with the Event.

Sir, I thought I had made an end, but looking your Letter over again, I find I have forgot to answer a reason or two you give, why you doubt whether the Letter be truly M. Fagels : You are informed (you say) that such and such Great Men doubted of it ; but some might as well pretend to doubt of the Truth of that Letter, (tho they knew it to be true) as believe Her Majesty to be with Child, almost before she knew it Her self ; and that she was quick, when the Embryo, as Anatomists say, is not much above an Inch long ; I don't think that Popish Successors, like certain weeds, grow faster than others : The Persons you name may Trim, and presume on their Merit,

least they might be thought capable of Resentment. A dangerous Reflection. I say their Merit ; you have seen a long relation of the great services some (when they were in power) did their Highnesses ; it is bound up with a relation of the true causes of their sufferings for their (or rather their Highnesses) Religion. You know even how one of them the last Summer payed them his reverence with all the Respect and Humility of a due distance, and with the same caution with which the Invincible Monarch fights out of Cannon shot. But, *Sir*, though the character of a Trimmer be ordinarily the character of a Prudent Man, there are times and seasons when it is not the Character of an Honest Man.

I acknowledge that since their Highnesses Marriage, nothing has hapned so much for the good of the Protestant Interest as this Letter of M. *Fagels*, and if I had been either the Writer or Adviser of it, I should be very proud of it, and think the Nation much in my debt. But Sir, that was not a very good reason to make you doubt of it ; for a good cause will have its time, tho not so often as a bad one, which hath ordinarily the Majority on its side.

I am confident at present we have all the reason in the world to expect it, for my own part, though I am neither young nor strong, I hope to live to see a day of Jubilee in *England* for all that deserve it ; when honest men shall have the same pleasure in thinking on these times, that a Woman happily delivered hath in reflecting on the pain and danger she was in. But Knaves shall remember them, as I am told the damned do their sins, Cursing both them and themselves.

Sir, I am

January 12. 1688.

Yours.

A Letter Writ by *Mijn Heer Fagel*, Pensioner
to the Great and Mighty Lords, the States of *Holland*
and *Westfriesland*. *Writ in French on the 9th of April,*
N. Stile 1688. To the Marquis of *Albeville*, Envoy
Extraordinary of His Majesty of *Great Britain*, to the
High and Mighty the *States General* of the *United*
Provinces. To which is prefixt an Account in *Dutch*
of the Letter Writ by *Mijn Heer Fagel*, on the 4th of
November, in the year 1687. to Mr. *Stewart*, written
by the said *Pensioner*, and Published by his Order.

*Printed at the Hague by James Scheltus, Printer to the
States of Holland and Westfriesland.*

Translated out of the *French* and *Dutch* into *English*.

R E A D E R,

I Gaspar Fagel, having the honour to serve the *Great and
Mighty States of Holland and Westfriesland*, in the *Quality*
of their *Pensioner*, cannot any longer delay the giving the
Publick this account, that in the month of *July* last 1687.
I was very earnestly desired by Mr. *James Stewart* Advocate,
to write to him what were the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange's*
Thoughts concerning the repealing the *Test and the Penal Laws*:
but I was not easily brought to put Pen to Paper on this sub-
ject, because I knew that their *Highnesses* *Thoughts* did not a-
gree with his *Majesties*; so that the writing in such matters was
extream tender: therefore I delayed it till I was more earnest-
ly pressed to it: and it was Intimated to me, that those pressing
desires were made by His *Majesties* Knowledge and Allowance:
at last I did according to the mind of their *Highnesses*, draw
the *Letter* which I writ to Mr. *Stewart* on the 4th of *November*:
I transmitted the draught of my *Letter* to their *Highnesses*, and
received upon it their order to send it, after that their *Highnesses*
had read and examined the draught in *Dutch*, together with the
Translation of it into *English*: upon all this I sent my *Letter* to
Mr.

Mr. Stewart in the beginning of November ; and received an answer from him, by which he signified, that he had shewed my Letter, both to the Earl of Melfort and to the Earl of Sunderland, and that it was also shewed to the King himself ; nor did he in the least intimate to me that it was desired that I should make any great secret of it ; or take care that it should not become publick : That Letter, was afterwards about the middle of January, Printed in England ; and upon its coming over into this Country, it has occasioned a great deal of noise ; yet I have not hitherto concerned myself in all those discourses, or in all that has been writ and printed upon it, but have let all people reason or write concerning it as they pleased : But I have lately seen an English Book, entitled, *Parliamentum Pacificum*, printed in London, in this present year, by virtue of a Licence signed by the Earl of Sunderland ; in which that Letter writ by me, is not only called a *Pretended Piece*, but it is said, that which I had set forth in my Letter, concerning the Prince and Princesses Thoughts, relating to the repeal of the Test and the Penal Laws was advanced by me without the knowledge of their Highnesses, at least of her Royal Highness : and by this the Reader may be perhaps wrought on to believe either that my Letter was a *Pretended Piece*, and Forgery, or that I writ it without Order from their Highnesses ; since it may indeed seem scarce probable, that the Author could have obtained a License for the printing of a paper that contains such falsehoods in it, which the Court and in particular the Earl of Sunderland could not but know to be such : for they know well both that the Letter was writ by me, and that I was ordered to write it by their Highnesses : therefore I could not delay any longer to undeceive the World. Thus I am obliged to publish this account of the matter. I have still in my possession, those Letters by which I was earnestly pressed to write the fore-mentioned Letter, in which it is expressly said, that they were writ by His Majesties Knowledge and Allowance : I have also that Letter in which notice is given, that my Letter had come to hand, — and that it was shewed not only to the Earls of Melfort and Sunderland, but to his Majesty himself, so that they know well that it is no *Pretended Piece*. I have also by me the Letter, by which His Highnesses desired me to send my Letter to Mr. Stewart, together with the English Translati-

on of it : all which I will print, if I find it necessary. So that it is a gross abuse put on the World, to say that my Letter is a *forgery*, since as it was truly writ by *me*, so it has been avow'd by *me* ever since it first appeared: And it is a base Calumny and Slander, to say, that I writ that account of their *Hightnesses* thoughts concerning the Repeal of the *Test* and the *Penal Laws* without their knowledge : which appears so much the more evident, since it cannot be imagined, that their *Hightnesses* would not have expressed their just resentments, at so high and extravagant a presumption as I should have committed, if I had written any account of their *thoughts*, without their knowldg: All this has obliged me for my own Vindication to write the following *Letter*, to the Marquess of *Albeville*, His Majesties *Envoy to the States*: because I have had much discourse with him concerning the writing of that *Letter*, long before this book called *Parliamentum Pacificum* was published: but I will not engage my self any further to examine the reasonings of the Author of that Phmphlet: for I know well, that in those matters the world is divided into very different sentiments, and that men are apt to approve or censure such things, according to their preconceived Opinions: Of all this I thought it necessary to advertise my Reader, and to order this account of my Letter to be printed by a known *Printer*, from a Copy signed by my hand. At the *Hague* the 10th. of *April*, 1688.

G A S P A R F A G E L.

A Copy of the *Letter* Writ by Mijn Heer *Fagel*, to the *Marquis of Albeville*, bearing date the 9th. of *April*, 1688.

S I R,

THERE has appeared here an *English book*, Printed at *London* this year, entitled *Parliamentum Pacificum* with an *Imprimatur* before it signed by the Earl of *Sunderland*: of which I cannot but complain to you how averse foever I am to

things of that kind. It is affirmed in that book, that the *Letter* which I writ to Mr. Stewart the 4th. of November last year, concerning the *Test* and the *Penal Laws* is a *Pretended Piece*, or at least that I writ it without *order*; and without the *consent* of their *Highnesses*, and more particularly of her *Royal Highness the PRINCESS of ORANGE*: I will not engage my self to examin and refute the particulars that are in that *Book*, for that were as unsuteable to the Character I bear, as it is to my own Inclinations; which do both concur in making it unfit for me to enter upon a publick dispute in things of this nature: But you cannot think it strange, if I desire you to call to mind, that it was not of my own head that I was engaged to write that *Letter* which is now called in question: it was far from that: I was pressed by earnest and often repeated Instances for the space of four months, that were made to me in His *Majesties* name, to write upon that subject; which at last prevailed with me; yet I went about it with all the caution that a matter of such Importance required; and I took care not to write one single period in that whole *Letter*, that I apprehended might give His Majesty the least offence: yet after all I see this *Letter* is treated as an *Imposture*, in a *Book* published by Authority: tho both his Majesty and the whole *Court* know the truth of this matter; which *Sir*, I have in particular owned to your self, as being the Kings *Minister* here: as I have also owned it to all that have spoke to me upon the *Subject*. But that which troubles more is, that I am accused for having made use of their *Highnesses* name, and in particular of her *Royal Highnesses* without their *Order*, as if I were capable of so Infamous a *Forgery*, and of an *Imposture* so unworthy of any man of honour, and that chiefly in a matter of so great Consequence. *Sir*, you must not think it strange, if in this I appeal to your self, to that which you know, and which you have often owned to me your self: that their *Highnesses*, and particularly Her *Royal Highness* have often expre[i]ed to you their thoughts concerning the *Test and the Penal Laws*, conform to that which I writ in their names: which you owned to me, that you had writ to the *Court of England*, long before I writ that *Letter*, and that therefore you could not imagin upon what reason the *Court* could press me so much as they did to write to Mr. Stewart.

I do assure you, I find my self very little concerned in what is said in this late *Book*, or in any other of that kind : I foresaw well enough from the begining that I should be attackt upon the account of my *Letter* : in which it was Indiferent to me what any man thought of it. But this *Book* being published by the authoarity of a *Licence* granted by the Earl of *Sunderland*, *President of His Majesties Privy Council and Secretary of State*, I find my honour is so touched in it, that I am obliged to undeceive the world, of the false accusation with which I am charged in it. And I thought Sir, that I could not do this better, than by writing to you, that are His Majestys *Minister*, and who know perfectly the truth of the matter that is now called in question : and therefore I desire you will write concerning it, to the Earl of *Sunderland* : I believe he has not seen or at least that he has not considered the passages of that *Book* that do concern me. For I am sure if he had done that, he would never have Licensed it : for my Lord *Sunderland* knows, as well as any man alive does, that my *Letter* to Mr. *Stewart* is no *Pretended Piece* : he himself saw the *Letter*, or at least the *English Translation* of it that I sent along with it : And he could not but know likewise, both by your *Letters*, and by what you told by *word of mouth*, that their *Highnesses*, and in particular Her Royal *Highness*, have often owned to you, their sense of the *Test* and the *Penal Laws*, conform to that which I writ in their name to Mr. *Stewart*. So I do persuade my self, that My Lord *Sunderland* will have the Justice and Goodness to recall this *Licence*, which has been obtained of him by a surprise : and that the *Author* of so manifest and so Injurious a *Calumny*, shall be punished as he deserveth. I will not likewise conceal from you, the design I have of publishing an account of all that has passed in this matter, as well as of this *Letter*, which I take the liberty now to write to you, in which my design is not to enter into any dispute concerning the matter it self, much less to offend any person whatsoever, but only to cover my Honour which is struck at by this *atrocious Calumny*. I am Sir your most humble and most obedient Servant

G A S P E R F A G E L.

D

To

To all which this Attestation of the Printer is added.

I the under subscribing James Scheltus Printer in Ordinary to the Great and Mighty Lords the States of Holland and Westfriesland, dwelling in the Hague, do declare and attest by these presents, that the Writing here published, together with the Copy of the Letter writ in French to the Marquis of Albeville, Envoy Extraordinary of His Majesty of Great Brittain to the States, were delivered into my hands in order to their being Printed, by Mijn Heer Gasper Fagel, Pensioner to the above named Lords and States of Holland and Westfriesland, and that I have printed them by his express Order. At the Hague the 10th of April 1688.

J. SCHELTUS.

Some Extracts, out of Mr. James Stewart's Letters, which were communicated to Mijn Heer Fagel, the States Pensionary of the Province of Holland. Together with some References to Mr. Stewart's Printed Letter.

MR. Stewart staid about seven Months, after he had received the Pensionary's Letter, before he thought fit to write any Answer to it: and then instead of sending one in writing to the Pensioner, or in a Language understood by him, he has thought fit, by a Civility peculiar to himself, to Print an Answer in English, and to send it abroad into the World, before the Pensioner had so much as seen it. The many and great Affairs that press hard upon that Eminent Minister, together with a sad want of Health, by which he has been long afflicted, have made that he had not the leisure to procure Mr. Stewart's Letter to be translated to him, and to compare the Matters of Fact related to in it, with the Letters that were writ the last year

year by Mr. *Stewart*, which are in his Possession: nor did he think it necessary, to make too much haste: And therefore if he has let as many *Weeks* pass, without ordering an *Answer* to be prepared, as the other had done *Months*, he thought that even this Slowness, might look like one that despised this indecent Attempt upon his Honour, that Mr. *Stewart* has made in giving so unjust a Representation of the matter of Fact. He hopes he is too well known to the World, to apprehend that any Persons would entertain the bad Thoughts of him, which Mr. *Stewart's* late Print may have offered to them; and therefore he has proceeded in this matter, with the Slowness that he thought became his Integrity, since a greater Haste might have look'd like one that was uneasy, because he knew himself to be in Fault. As for the reasoning part of Mr. *Stewart's Paper*, he has already expressed himself in his Letter to Mr. *d' Albeville*, that he will not enter into any Arguing upon those Points, but will leave the Matter to the Judgment of every Reader; therefore he has given order only to examine those Matters of Fact, that are set forth in the beginning of Mr. *Stewart's Letters*, that that so the World may have a true Account of the Motives that induced him to write his *Letter* to Mr. *Stewart*, from the words of Mr. *Stewart's own Letters*: And then he will leave it to the Judgment of every Reader, whether Mr. *Stewart* has given the Matter of Fact fairly or not. It is true, the *Pensioner* has not thought fit to print all Mr. *Stewart's Letters*, at their full length; there are many Particulars in them for which he is not willing to expose him: And in this he has shewed a greater Regard to Mr. *Stewart*, than the Usage that he has met with from him deserves: If Mr. *Stewart* has kept Copies of his own *Letters*, he must see that the *Pensioner's Reservedness* is rather grounded on what he thought became himself, than on what Mr. *Stewart* has deserved of him. But if Mr. *Stewart*, or any in his name, will take Advantages from this, that the *Letters* themselves are not published, and that here there are only *Extracts* of them offered to the World, then the *Pensioner* will be excused, if he Prints them all to a Tittle: The Truth is, it is scarce conceivable how Mr. *Stewart* could assume the Confidence that appears in his printed Letter, if he have kept Copies of the Letters that he writ last Year: And if he engaged himself in Affairs of

such Importance without keeping Copies of what he writ, it was somewhat extraordinary : And yet this Censure is that which falls the softest on him : But I will avoid every thing that looks like a sharpness of Expression ; for the *Pensioner* expects, that he who is to give this Account to the *English Nation*, should rather consider the Dignity of the *Post* in which he is, than the Advantages that Mr. *Stewart* may have given for replying sharply on him. And in this whole matter the *Pensioner's* chief Concern is, to offer to the World such a Relation of the Occasions that drew his *Letter* to Mr. *Stewart* from him, as may justify him against the false Insinuations that are given : He owed this likewise as an Expression of his Respect and Duty to their Highnesses, in whose Name he wrote his *Letter*, and at whom all those false Representations are levelled, though they fall first and immediately upon himself.

The Sum of the Matter of Fact, as it is represented by Mr. *Stewart*, amounts to this, ‘ That he was so surprised to see in January last, the *Pensioner's* Letter to him in Print, that he was inclined to disbelieve his own Eyes, considering the remoteness of the Occasion that was given for that *Letter* : That he had never writ to the *Pensioner*, but was expressly *cautioned* against it : but that seeing the Sincerity of the King's Intentions, he was desirous to contribute his small Endeavours for the advancing so good a Work, and for that end he obtained leave to write to a private Friend, who he judged might have Opportunity to represent any thing he could say to the best Advantage : But that of the *Letters* which he writ to his Friend, there were only two intended for Communication, in which he studied to evince the Equity and Expediency, of repealing the *Test* and the *Penal Laws* : And that with a peculiar regard, to the Prince and Princess Orange's Interest ; and he desired that this might be imparted to Friends, but chiefly to those at the *Hague*. And that this was the Substance of all that he writ on that Occasion. But finding that the Prince had already declared himself in those Matters, he resolved to insist no further : Yet his Friend insinuating, That he had still Hopes to get a more distinct and satisfying *Answer*, from a better Hand, tho without naming the Person, he attended the Issue ; and about the beginning of November, almost Three Months after his

his first writing, he received the *Pensioners Letter*, though he had not writ to him (which is repeated again and again) and in it an Account of the Prince and Princess of Orange's Thoughts about the *Repeal of the Tests and Penal Laws* (which he had not desired) upon which he took some care to prevent the publishing of it : But when he saw it in Print, he clearly perceived that it was printed in *Holland*; and so wonders how the *Pensioner* could say, that it was printed in *England*, which he found in his printed Letter to Mr. & *Albeville*; he knows not upon what Provocation the *Pensioner* writ that Letter ; but in it he finds that he writ, that he was desired by himself to give him an Account of the Prince and Princess of Orange's Thoughts, and that these pressing Desires were made to him by His Majesties Knowledge and allowance ; this being so different from the Letters he had writ, of which he is sure that the Account he has given is true in every point, he was forced to vindicate the King's Honour and his own Duty. He writ not out of any curiosity to know their Highnesses Thoughts, which were already known, they having been signified to the *Marquis of Albeville*, and therefore he had no Orders from the King for writing on that Subject, but only a Permission to use his little Endeavours for the advancing of his Service ; but it was never moved to him to write, either in the King's Name or in the Name of any of his Secretaries. This is Mr. *Stewart's* Account in the first Nince Pages of his Letter, and is set down In his own Words.

Now in opposition to all this, it will appear from the following Extracts, that Mr. *Stewart* writ to his Friend, as the most proper Interpreter for addressing himself to the *Pensioner*; that he repeated his Proposition frequently, finding his Friend unwilling to engage in so critical a matter. He gives great assurances of his *Majesty's Resolutions* never to alter the Succession (which is plainly the Language of a Treaty) he prettles over and over again to know the Prince's Mind, whose concurrence in the matter would be the best *Guarentee* of the Liberty. He by name desires his Letters may be shewed to the Prince and Princess of Orange (though he says, he only ordered them to be shewed to Friends at the *Hague* : so it seems he has the modesty to reckon them among the number of his Friends ; but it is

is a question whether their Highnesses do so or not.) He says in one Letter, *That what he writ was from his Majesty himself*, and enlarges more fully on this in two other Letters; and he desires, that the Prince's Answers, with his Reasons, might be understood; which very probably gave the Occasion to all the reasoning part of the Pensioner's Letter. And it appears by that Letter, that the Return to all this was expected by the King, and in almost every Letter he presses for a Return. And in conclusion, upon his receiving the Pensioner's Letter, he expresses likewise a great sense of the Honour done him in it; that he had so far complied with his insignificant Endeavours, he mentions his acquainting both the King and the Earls of Sunderland and Melfort with it; and in another Letter, after new Thanks for the Pensioner's Letter, he laments that it was so long delay'd. But all these things will appear more evident to the Reader from the Passages drawn out of Mr. Stewart's own Letters, which follow. Mr. Stewart seems not to know upon what Provocation the Pensioner writ to Mr. d' Albeville, and yet the Pensioner had set that forth in the Letter it self; for the Pamphlet entitled *Parliamentum Pacificum*, that was Licensed by the Earl of Sunderland, contained such Reflections on his Letter to Mr. Stewart, either as a Forgery, or as a thing done without the Princess of Orange's Knowledge, that the Pensioner judged himself bound in Honour to do himself right. As for Mr. Stewart's criticalness, in knowing that the Pensioner's Letter was first Printed in Holland, and his Reflection on the Pensioner for insinuating that the Letter was first Printed in England; it is very like that Mr. Stewart, after so long a Practise in Libels, knows how to distinguish between the Prints of the several Nations better than the Pensioner, whose course of Life has raised him above all such Practices. But it is certain, that wheresoever it was first Printed, the Pensioner writ sincerely, and believed really it was first Printed in England. This is all that seemed necessary to be said for an Introduction to the following Extracts.

July 12. 1687.

AND I assure you by all I can find here, the establishment of this equal Liberty is his Majesty's utmost Design — I wish your people at the Hague do not mistake too far both his Majesty and the Dissenters; for as I have already told you his Majesty's utmost Design, and have ground to believe, That his Majesty will preserve and observe the True Right of Succession, as a thing most sacred; so I must entreat you to remark, That the Offence that some of the Church of England Men take at Addressing, seems to me unaccountable, and is apprehended by the Dissenters to proceed so certainly from their former and wonted Spirit, that they begin to think themselves in large more Hazard from the Church of England's Re-exaltation than all the Papists & their Advantages. And next, that the Prince is thought to be abused by some there to a too great Mislike of that which can never wrong him, but will in probability in the event be wholly in his own power. — — — I hope you will consider and make your best use of these things — — — I expect an Account of this per first, I mean, an Answer to this Letter, and pray improve it to the best Advantage.

The Second Letter, without a Date.

THAT it is a thing most certain, that his Majesty is resolved to observe the Succession to the Crown as a thing most sacred, and is far from all Thoughts of altering the same; and that his Majesty is very desirous to have the Prince and Princess of Orange to consent to and concur with him in establishing this Liberty — So that upon the whole it may be feared, that if the Prince continue obstinate in refusing his Majesty, he may fall under Suspicions of the greatest part of England and of all Scotland, to be too great a Favourer of the Church of England, and consequently a person whom they have reason to dread — And many think that this Compliance in the Prince, might be further a wise part, both as to the Conciliating of his Majesty's greater Favour, and the begetting of an Understanding betwixt the King and the States; and the Parliament will consent to the Liberty so much the rather, that they have a Protestant

testant Successor in prospect — I cannot on these things make any conclusion, but simply leave them to your Reflection, and the best use you please to make of them — — I will expect your Answer per first.

Windsor, July. 18. 1687.

THE Hints that I gave you in my two former Letters I shall now explain more fully in this — — And therefore I heartily wish, that the Prince and Princess may understand all that you think needful on this Subject. It troubles his Majesty to find them so averse from approving this Liberty, and concurring for its Establishment — so that in truth I cannot see why their Highnesses should not embrace cheerfully so fair an Opportunity to gratify both his Majesty and the far greater and better part of the Nation — — Now upon the whole ; I expect that you will make all I have written fully known at the Hague, especially with the Prince — But the main thing I expect from you, is to have your mind, whether or not his Highness may be so disposed, as that a well Chosen Informer sent to himself might perfect the Work. And this Answer I will expect per first ; where ever the Prince be, you know who are to be spoken and how — — — I again entreat your Care and Dispatch in this, with your Return.

London, July 29. 1687.

Me of the 19 July, with my last of the 26th July, V. St. will I am sure satisfy you fully ; for therein I have indeed answered all can be objected, and have given you such an Account of the Confirmation of all I have writ from his Majesty himself, that I must think it a Fatality if your people remain obstinate. — And I again assure you, if your people be obstinate, it will be fatal to the poor Dissenters, and I fear productive of Ills yet unbound of ; and therefore pray consider my Letters, and let me know if there be any place to receive Information by a good Hand — but however, let us endeavour Good all we can, and I assure you I have my Warrant. — — Haste your Answer.

Windsor

Windsor, Aug. 5. 1687.

AND in a word, believe me, if the Prince will do what is desired, it is the best service to the Protestants, the highest Obligation on his Majesty, and the greatest Advancement of his own Interest that he can think on; but if not, then all is contrary — But pray haile an Answer.

Windsor, Aug. 12. 1687.

I Have yours of the 15. Instant, long looked for; you remark, that you have received mine of the 26 of July, but say nothing of that of the 19. which was my fullest, and which I assure you was writ, not only with permission, but according to his Majesties Mind sufficiently expressed; our Religion ought certainly to be dearer to us than all earthly Concerns. It is very true what you say, that mistakes about its Concerns (especially in such a time) may be of the greatest Importance, which no doubt should perswade to a very scrupulous Caution: But yet I am satisfied, That the simple Representing of what was wrote to you (which was all I required) was no such difficult Task — — But to be plain with you, as my Friend, your return was not only long delayed, but I observe such a Coldness in it, different from the strain of your former, that I think I mistake not when I understand by your Letter more than you express — — I wish the P. may see or hear this from end to end.

London, Aug. 22. 1687.

I Have yours of the 16th Instant; when I said your last was more Cool, I meant not as your Affection, but as to your diligence in that Affair — — for I am perswaded, that the establishing of this Liberty by Law, is not only the Interest of Protestant Dissenters above all others, but that his Highness's consenting to it, would be its secure Guarantee both against Changes and Abuses — As you love the Quiet of good Men and me, leave off Complements and Ceremonies, and discourse his Highness of all I have written — — I am now hastening to Scotland — — but may return shortly; for the Kings is most desirous to gain the Prince and he will be un-

doubtedly the best Guarantee to us of this Liberty, and also to binder all your Fears about Popery.

Newark, Aug. 26. 1687.

BUT now I must tell you, that though —— I know —— to be my very good Friend, yet he hath not answered my Expectation; for you see that to seven of mine, he gave me not one Word of Answer; although I told him, that the substance of them was writ by the King's Allowance, and a Return expected by him: besides, the Answers he makes are either Generals or Complements, whereas my desire was, that the Prince should know things, and that his Answer with his Reasons might be understood, —— but my Friend has delayed and scruffed things.

From Scotland, Septemb. 24. 1687.

I Have yours of the 30th of Aug. but have delayed so long to answer, because I had written other Letters to you whereof I yet expect the Return——— my most humble Duty to my Friend at the Hague.

Edinburg, Octob. 28. 1687.

As for that more important Affair, wherewith I have long troubled you, I need add no more; my Conscience bears me Witness, I have dealt sincerely for the Freedom of the Gospel----I had certainly long ere now written to the Pensioner Fagel, were it not that I judged you were a better Interpreter of any thing I could say: I know his real Concern for the Protestant Religion; and shall never forget his undeserved Respect to me; but alas! that Providence should be so ill understood.

London, Novemb. 8. 1687.

I Have yours of the 1st of November----the enclos'd from the L. Pensionary surprize me with a Testimony of his Favour and Friendship, and also of his sincere Love to the Truth, and fair and candid Reasoning upon the present Subject of Liberty, beyond what I can

can express ; he hath seriously done too much for me ; but the more he hath done in compliance with my insignificant Endeavours, the more I judge and esteem his noble and zealous Concern for Religion and Peace, which I am certain could only in this Matter be his just Motive : I hope you will testify to him my deep Sense of his Favour and most serious Profession of Duty with all Diligence, until I be in ca : so make his L. a direct Return. I showed the Letter to my Lord Melfort, who was satisfied with it.

London, Novemb. 6. 1687. Which it seems
is by a mistake of the Date.

I Have your last, but have been so harassed and tormented, that I have not had time to write to you, much less to my L. Pensionary ; yet since my last, I acquainted the Earl of Sunderland with his Answer, as the King ordered me ; but I see all Hope from your Side is given quite over , and Men are become as cold in it here as you are positive there.

London, Novemb. 19. 1687.

By my last of the 8th. Instant, I gave you notice of the Receipt of my Lord Pensionary's Letter, and what was and is my Sence of his extraordinary Kindness and Concern in that Affair. Since that time I have had the Opportunity to shew them to the King, and at his Command did read to him distinctly out of the English Copy all the Account given of her Highnesses mind touching the Penal Statutes and the Test ; and without, signified the Sum of what was subjoined, especially the Respect and Difference therein Expressed to his Majesty's Person and Government ; but to my own Regret, I find that this Answer hath been too long delayed , and that now the King is quite over that Matter, being no ways satisfied with the Distinction made of the Tests from the Penal Laws ; and no less positive, that his Highness is neither to be prevailed upon, nor so much as to be further treated with in this Matter.

The Conclusion.

AND thus all that relates to the Occasion that drew the *Pensioners Letter* from him, appears in its true light. If this Discovery is uneasy to Mr. Stewart, he has none to blame for it but himself. It is very likely the first Article of his merit, for the defacing of all that was past, was the Pains he took to work on their *Highnesses*, by the *Pensioners* means : But that having failed him, the abusive *Letter* that he has published upon it may come in for a second Article ; And now the Reproaches to which this Discovery must needs expose him, must compleat his *Merit*. If upon all this he is not highly rewarded, he has ill Luck, and small Encouragement will be given to others to serve the *Court* as he has done. But if he has great Rewards, it must be acknowledged that he has paid dear for them ; the printing and distributing 15000 Copies of his *Letter*, is only the publishing his Shame to 15000 persons, though it is to be doubted if so many could be found in the Nation who would give themselves the Trouble to read so ill a Paper.

F I N I S.

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